

W. H. Year A 8 no. 1
VINDICATION

OF

That Prudent and Honourable Knight,

Sir Henry Vane,

From the LYES and CALUMNIES

OF

Mr. Richard Baxter,

Minister of *Kidderminster*.

In a MONITORY LETTER to the
said *Mr. Baxter*.

*By a True Friend and Servant of the
Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.*

*He that is slow to wrath, is of great understanding: but a man of a
hasty spirit, exalteth folly, Prov. 14. 29.*

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*A Vindication of that Prudent and
Honourable Knight,
Sir HENRY VANE, &c.*

Mr. Baxter,

AS in the *multitude* of Words there wants not sin, Sect. I.
Prov. 10. 19. so in the *multiplicity* of Books and
Writings, there are commonly many gross mi-
stakes, calumnies, unworthy & unchristian reflections upon
the persons and actions of other men, perhaps altogether
unknown to the Authors of such books. I cannot but ad-
mire the wise providence of God, in suffering you to be
whip'd and lashed (not without just cause) by divers god-
ly learned men, in their *Writings*, by whom you are ren-
dered to be one of an *Heterodox* Judgment, leavened with
Popish, *Socinian* and *Arminian* Errors; of a bold, inconfi-
derate and rash spirit, transported with a preposterous
Zeal; and a busy intermedler with persons and things,
whereof you have but little judgement or experience:
So true are these words of Solomon, *In the mouth of the
foolish is a rod of pride*, (2) wherewith they whip and
wound themselves: (I say) I cannot but admire the wise
providence of God in this, when I consider how apt you
are to calumniate and detract from your Country-men,
who desire to serve the Lord in sincerity, according to
their light and knowledge; and in their places and
stations to promote the Good of all men. I hope
that worthy Knight, Sir *Henry Vane*, (whom you have
grossly bely'd in a book of yours, lately printed*) is of
such

a Prov. 4. 3

* Key of
Catholiques.

such a spirit and temper, and would not willingly do wrong to you nor any other man, of what Judgement soever.

Se&. II. If you had expected the late *Turn*, wherein much of the power and wisdom of God hath appeared, our Enemies themselves being Judges, (and you your self have taken notice of the Providence of God towards the late Protector, and therefore may well take notice of this) I doubt not, Sir, but you love and tender your self, and your own credit and reputation so much, that you would have been silent touching Sir *Henry Vane*, and the *Vanists*, (as you most vainly and foolishly call them) and not have rendered your self (by your rashness and folly) obnoxious to the Law and Justice. Was it not possible for you Mr. *Baxter* to flatter and fawn upon Mr. *Richard Cromwel* (whom you in your wisdom have compared to wise *Solomon*, as you did his Father to faithful and upright *David*) but you must also asperse and bely your *Country men*, who would not, nor could not sacrifice the Liberties of their dear *Native Country* to the ambitious lusts of men, and bow down before that Court-Idol (which was created by a few factious self-interested persons) as you and others have done? I dare not say (with some of your friends) that you have done this according to the true sense and meaning of the Solemn League and Covenant, and other Oaths by you taken, but rather according to your own foolish humors, and those private, factious, and selfish ends, which you and they proposed to your selves in the late Transactions, as hoping to supplant all those that obstructed your ambitious designs. As for that honourable Person (whose prudence and parts in the management of *State-affairs* you are not able to judge of, by your *Pedantick Syllogisms*, though you think it worth your time to revile him) I presume he looks upon it as below him, and his great and weighty employments, to write any thing in his own *Vindication*: he hath other business to look after, and not to spend his time about the passionate and rash *Scriblings* of every byassed and engaged person: and

and therefore I think it not amiss (having more leisure and opportunity) nor so much from any private or personal respect which I bear to him, as my love to the Commonwealth, and publick Interest of these Nations (which is owned and asserted by him upon just and honest principles) to clear up the innocency of that worthy Knight, and to vindicate him (though without his privacy and knowledge) from your lyes and aspersions ; that if it be the will of God, you may learn Wisdom for time to come, and make a publick Recantation of that wrong and injury which you have done him ; and be more advised and prudent in your words and writings : Remembring what the Scripture saith,---*Who so keepeth his mouth and his tongue, keepeth his soul from troubles* (b). *Seest thou a man that is hasty in his words ? there is more hope of a fool then of him.* And if a man seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, *this mans religion is vain.* Doubtless great care and circumspection is to be used in writing Books ; for thereby the *Authors* expose themselves to the censures of all men, whether they be wise or foolish, rash or considerate, learned or ignorant, of sound or of corrupt judgment ; whether they be of a virtuous or vicious disposition. He that commits anything to writing, (saith *Seneca*) gives men a bill of his manners ; which every Reader may put in suit against him, if there be cause for it.

b Prov. 21.

23.

Prov. 29. 20.

Jam. 1. 26.

It is *Kingly*, (saith one*) I may add, that it is *Christi*. Sect. III. *unlike*, to do well, and to be ill spoken of : To do good to ill men, and to be ill spoken of by most men. Who among the people of God was a greater Lover of his Countrey, a more valiant Captain, or a more faithful Governour then *Moses* ; yet how was he censured, reviled and reproached by the people, who continually murmured against him ? Among the heathens, *Socrates*, *Photion*, *Aristides*, *Epaminondas*, and *Cato*, were excellent men, famous for their love to their Countrey ; yet how ungratefully and unworthily were they used ? And why should we think it strange that this honourable Knight

* Antisthenes

Knights, with other worthy Patriots, who have appeared against *Tyranny*, both in matters Civil and Religious, are reviled by you and your *Associates*; who under pretence of Religion, and the Interest of Christ, would set up a faction, and enslave the Nation! It seems you have learned that *Machiavilian* lesson, *Calumniate lustily*; something will ever stick behind. If he be a *Slanderer*, who wrongs his neighbours credit, either by unjust raising or upholding an evil report against him; Surely you have cause to lay your hand upon your heart, and to take shame to your self: and if this be the mark of those that shall dwell in the *Lords Tabernacle*, that they are such as neither raise nor take up a reproach against their neighbour, *Psal. 15.3.* what will become of you (*Mr. Baxter*) and where and with whom must you dwell to eternity, if God do not humble you for your slanderous and lying tongue and pen? What was your design (*I pray you*) in reproaching this *Gentleman*? was it to render your self famous, in rendring his person and parts infamous to posterity? nay, was it not to curry favour with *Mr. Cromwell*, that so you and your *Complices* might ride him at your pleasure, and accomplish your selfish ends, by the pliability of the young *Gentleman*, to the enslaving of your native *Countrey*? hence it was that (by you and your friends instigation) so many flattering *Addresses* were presented to him from the several Counties and Cities, whereby the young man was puffed up, and made believe, that all the people in the three Nations were at his command; and yet not a man of you would courageously stand up for him and his declining *Protectorship*, when he had most need of you.

SECT. IV. Whereas you impudently tell the world in your late
* Key of Car-ailing Book *, That *Sir Henry Vane* and the *Vanists* put
1 vol. pag. the King to death: that he was the Master of the Game:
312.313.330 That he and his followers are no better then *Papists*, *Jesuites*, &c. That the *Papists* are strong in England under
331.355.39. the mask of the *Vanists*, whereof you make him the
Ringleader: That he was in *Italy*, and brought from
thence

thence most *wicked and corrupt opinions*: And having thus vented your self in a *vain* and frothy discourse, wherein perhaps you think you have sufficiently answered the Papists, and vindicated the *Protestant* party touching the *Kings* death, by these manifest and gross untruths, as if it were lawful for you to *speak wickedly for God, and to lie for his glory* (b). Give me leave in a friendly way to Expostulate a little with you: Did you ever see the face of this Gentleman whom you have so frequently reproached (neither Minister nor Man-like) or at least, did you ever speak a word with him, either to know his judgment concerning the proceedings against the late *King*, or his principles in matters of *Religion*? I am confident you do not know him, neither had you ever any conference with him: but you may have in time: for though these *Injuries*, (if they were done only to a private man) might be passed by and remitted, (without exemplary punishment) yet being done to one in a *Publique* capacity, the Authority of the Nation may in due time take *Cognizance* thereof. Now as touching the death of the late *King*, will you say that all those *Gentlemen* that sat in the *High Court* of Justice (by Authority of Parliament) upon his Tryal (and yet Sir HENRY VANE was none, but I am sure some of your good *Lords* and *Masters* were of the number of his Judges) were Popish and *Jesuitical*, and that therein they carried on a Popish Design against the Protestant Party and Interest? Can you put no difference between the Clandestine *Assassination* of a *Prince* to serve the *Jesuites* turn, and the publick Execution of *Justice* upon a *King*, (for levying War against the two houses of *Parliament* co-ordinate in power with him, and shedding the blood of his Subjects upon that account) who was not put to death to gratifie the *Jesuites*, but to free the Nation from *Tyranny* and Slavery, and from the luxury and unnecessary charge of the *Court* (d): Woe be to us and the *Protestant* Interest if we had none that could or would plead our Cause better then you have done: for it is well known that

b Job. 13. 7.
Rom. 3. 7.

d Vide Declaration of Parliament for a Free State, March 17. 1648.

you

* See Mr.
Tho. Bay-
lowe.

Mr. Owen.

Mr. Kendal.

Mr. Lyford.

Mr. Burges.

Mr. Eyre.

Mr. Crandon. Mr. Warner, their Books against Mr. Baxter.

you *Symbolize* with the *Papists* in many material points,
* and have given no small advantage to the *Popish* party,
by your calumnies and Invectives, against the most emi-
nent *Protestants* both on this side, and beyond the
Seas.

Sect. V.

Key, pag.
312, 313.

But say you, the *Vanists* and *Levellers* were the chief
Agents in the death of the *King*, and these men are no
better then *Papists*, and Sir *Henry Vane* was the master of
the *Game*. This is a manifest untruth, reflecting no small
disparagement upon the *Ministry*, which (for my part) I
honour and reverence, as a precious *Ordinance* of Christ,
and am heartily sorry that you and others should bring
the same into contempt, by your bitterness, factionness,
and ambitious designs and practices. That Honourable
Gentleman (whom you calumniate, and from whom (I
believe) you never received the least injury) was not free
to act in *Parliament*, nor in the *high Court* of Justice upon
the garbling of the House by the *Army*, and the Tryal of
the *King* by the Commissioners; but did thereupon (as
I remember) retire, and sequester himself from publique
Employment, being not fully satisfied (at that time) with
the proceedings of the *Parliament* and *Army*: And there-
fore how could this Gentleman have a chief hand in the
death of the *King*! It concerns every man (and much
more a *Minister* of the Gospel) to write the truth, both
in a *Logical* and moral consideration; and to speak no
otherwise then (he knows) the thing is, and not to ut-
ter an untruth, though he be ignorant of it. Whosoever
loveth and maketh a lye, shall not inherit the *Kingdome* of
Heaven, Rev. 22. 15. And the *Apostle* exhorts us to put
away lying, and every man to speak truth to his neighbour,
Ephes. 4. 25. The truth is, this honourable Gentleman
(of whom I have often made mention) having absent-
ed himself from the *Parliament*, upon that great change
and alteration of affairs in the year 1648. Lieutenant
General *Cromwel* (who sat upon the tryal of the *King*,
and

and incouraged the Commissioners of the *High Court of Justice* to proceed to sentence, it being the general vote and desire of the *Army*, that the King should be put to death) was importunate with this *Gentleman*, and used many arguments to perswade him to sit again in *Parliament*, and in the *Council of State*; and did at length prevail with him to come in. Now Mr. *Baxter*, (the truth of the matter of fact being thus stated) if you would have been *impartiall*, you should rather have said that your Lord *Protector* and his followers, had a chief hand in the death of the *King* (whether upon a publick or private account, I leave it to the Lord) then that Sir *Henry Vane* and the *Vanists* were the chief *Actors* in it: But you were resolved to cast dirt in the face of this *Gentleman*, and so to ingratiate your self with the new *Court*, the glory whereof is now laid in the dust, together with all your flattering *Addresses*.

You have another sling at Sir *Henry Vane* (who it Se& VI. seems is a great eye-sore to you) for you tell us that he Key pag. 331. was in *Italy*, and from thence brought over dangerous opinions: a palpable untruth (which a meer moral man, much more a true Christian, would be ashamed of:) he never sojourned in *Italy* in all his life, and therefore could bring from thence neither sound nor corrupt *Doctrines*: nor is he willing that his eldest *Son* (that proper young *Gentleman*) should travel beyond the Seas, lest his youth should be *leavened* with the corrupt opinions, Customs, and practises of forraign Popish Countreys, so much is he in love with them. Judge now, Mr. *Baxter*, whether you have in this passage of your Book faithfully discharged your Duty towards your neighbour; and done the same to him, which you would have had another to have done to you. I take not upon me to *apologize* for any extravagant or heterodox opinions, by whomsoever maintained: in doctrinals I do agree (for substance) with most of our godly Protestant Writers; Though it must be granted, that there are severall degrees of *Light*; and the great mysteries of the

Gospel are more clearly revealed to one than to another, yet so that the most *quick-sighted* Christian knows but in part, and therefore is apt to mistake in many things by reason of his ignorance and darknesse. I wish with all my heart that all those *Patriots*, who stand up and appear for common right and Justice, and the publick Interest and weal of these *Nations*, were both *Orthodox* and sound in their judgements, and also holy in their lives and conversations; but we must look more at things than at persons: Justice and honesty even in our Enemies, and those that differ from us (though but in one action) should be acceptable to us. I have often discoursed with this honourable *Gentleman* (whom you endeavour to blast and render odious by your unbridled tongue) and have heard him interpret the Scriptures: what his judgment and apprehensions have been formerly I know not; but of late (in my hearing) he hath expressed himself clearly and faithfully in the great point of *Justification* by the righteousness and obedience of *Christ* as *Mediator*, in opposition to the principles of the *Quakers*; who (together with the *Papists*) plead for justification by an inherent righteousness, or gracious qualifications under the notion of *Christ* or the Spirit in them; whereby the blood-shed and obedience of our High Priest the Lord *Jesus*, is rendred invalid and of no effect. Now as *Luther* saith well, If a man be found in this one Article of free Justification by the righteousness of *Christ*, it will minister light and direction to him in points of an inferiour and lesser consequence. We cannot but know that many pretious godly Ministers and Christians (since the beginning of the late Wars) have been shaken and unsettled in their Judgements, as to some of the main *Articles* of the Christian faith; but after some trialls, temptations, and afflictions, and after seeking the face of God, and consulting his word and his people, they have been (by the blessing of God) rooted and stablished in the truth. Certainly a man may be *Orthodox* and sound in Judgment (as to the principles of

of Religion) and yet wanting sincere love to Christ and his people, may fall short of *heaven* ; and on the contrary, another Christian may erre and mistake in many points, and yet having sincere love to the Truths of Christ, according to that measure of light (which God hath vouchsafed unto him) he may be saved. *Who art thou that judgest another mans servant ? to his-own master he standeth or falleth.* And let him who thinketh that he standeth, take heed that he fall not. Rom. 14. 4.

I cannot but wonder at your exceeding great confidence and boldness, in aspersing others with Popery and Jesuitisme (who I hope are not tainted therewith.) But Mr. Baxter, are not you guilty of the same evils whereof you accuse them ? and should not you (according to our Saviours direction) *First pluck the beam out of your own eye, that you may the better pluck out the mote which is in your brothers eye ?* Physician, heal thy self ; first reform thine own Judgement, and relinquish thine own errors, and then reprove others. Not to insist upon your *Sophisticating* and darkning the main points and principles of *Divinity*, by your exoticick *Aristotelian* learning, superficiall *Syllogismes*, and puzzling *Distinctions* : Sure I am, you have in your Writings boldly avouched for Truths, such Principles as (bordering too near upon the *Jesuites* and *Socinians*) will not be owned by sober pious *Protestants* ; wherein you do not correspond with *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Martyr*, and other *Reformists* ; but rather with *Bellarmino*, *Socinus*, *Arminius*, as hath been sufficiently demonstrated by others. I might write largely of your corrupt and unsound tenets, touching *Justification*, *Conversion*, the Nature of *Speciall Grace*, *Assurance*, *Perseverance*, the extent and effects of the death of Christ ; which you have not yet recanted that I know of : But I will onely at present recite some passages out of your books, and leave it to the *Impartiall* Reader, whether these bold Assertions of yours be suitable to the *Protestant Doctrine*, and the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ. Scot. VII
Matth. 7. 5.

c. Aphorism.
of Justif.
p. 72, 78, 82,
83, 91, 45.

You say, (e) That Christ hath not taken away the whole curse of the Law from Believers, by bearing it himself; and that the afflictions of Believers are in execution of the threatening and Curse of the Law.

That Christ hath not repealed the Old Covenant, nor freed Believers wholly from it, but superadded the new Law or Covenant to it, as the onely possible way of life.

That an absolute discharge from the execution of the threatening of the Law is granted to none in this life; and that when we believe and perform the condition, yet still the discharge remains conditionall, till we have finished our performance.

That the Law of God is not only relaxed as to the person suffering, but partly as to the penalty suffered: That Christ payed not the idem or same thing in the obligation; and that even in his sufferings, the threatening was partly dispensed with or relaxed.

That Jer. 31. 31. Heb. 8. 8, 9, 10. do not contain the full tenor of the Covenant of Grace. The holy Ghost saith, this is the Covenant; but you tell us that it is but a part of the Covenant.

You call them ordinary, *Vulgar*, unstudied Divines, who hold the Imputation of Christs active obedience, to be the form of our Justification. And thus Calvin, Beza, Chamier, Perkins, Whitaker, Davenant, Twisse, Ames, Cotton, Bayn, &c. are but ordinary *Vulgar* Divines, when they come in competition with incomparable Mr. Baxter.

You tell us boldly, That good works in a proper sense do justifie us before God: That faith and faithfull actions are our Evangelicall righteousness; and that faith as a complicate act, accepting Christ as Lord and King, is the condition of our Justification: And so (according to this Popish Doctrine) we are partly justified by Grace, and partly by Works: But the Apostle Paul and the Protestants are not of your mind.

That the suspending the vigorous execution of the Law (which in a sense is common to the elect and reprobate) is the immediate noble issue, and fruit of Christs death.

That

That Christ died to satisfie Divine Justice for the sins of all men, elect and reprobate.

That we are but conditionally, and not absolutely delivered from eternall death by the death of Christ; nor have we right to life without the intervention of a condition to be performed on our part, to qualifie us morally for it.

That our love is the cause or condition of our adoption; for which you quote, Matth. 5. 44. Luke 6. 27. 43. And so (according to your opinion) we must first love God, before he communicate his love to us.

That small impenitency and unbelief is properly the sin against the holy Ghost.

That no man is perfectly justified, nor hath perfect remission of sins till the day of judgement. If this Doctrine be true, we must all go to Purgatory.

That though a Christian may be assured of his election and justification, yet not of his perseverance, of which he hath only strong probability: and yet in another place you say, If a man be sure that he truly believes, he may be sure of his salvation: and thus you contradict your self, and say and unsay.

Direction
for Comfort.
afflict. Consc.
Psg. 34, 37,
38, 43, 39, 42,
44, 45, 47, 49,
51, &c.

That generall Grace affords true consolation, and that speciall Grace is built upon it; and that we may gather a world of comfort from generall grace.

That believing is easie; the conditions of the new Covenant being more facile then those of the old.

That God is the father of the graceless, though not in so strict a sense as of the gracious.

That doubts and fears must be removed by considering the universality of Christs ransome for the whole world: and that this is the foundation of all solid peace and comfort.

That unbelievers may have some good desires, which God will accept: and though they be not yet come to saving faith, yet they may have many good prayers which God will hear.

That none ever missed of grace and eternall life, that improved their naturalls to the utmost, as a naturall man may do. What is this but down-right Pelagianisme!

That

That seeing our acts are our Evangelicall righteousness (without which we have no part in Christs righteousness) we may safely build our peace and comfort upon them.

That Salvation is promised as the crown and reward to our duties.

(f) Saints
everlasting
Rest.

That Grace in the spirituall man (f) differs not specifically, but onely gradually from that which is in the naturall man: and that a Christian must gather his assurance from the degree, and not from the kind of grace. This is but cold comfort for a weak Believer.

I know none of them that you call *Vanists* so vain, corrupt, and rotten in their principles, as you are in these, or some of these positions, besides others that might be mentioned, wherewith (under pretence of Piety and *Practicall Divinity*) you have infected and poisoned many young Scholars in the *Universities*, and Ministers in the *Land*, who wanting experience, and being not able spiritually to judge of things that differ, have your person and gifts in admiration: So that (truely Mr. Baxter, all things considered) you have already done more mischief by your writings, then you will be able to do good if you should repent and live an hundred years: for, since your books were published, many Ministers & Professors have sadly departed from the simplicity and plainness of the Scriptures and Truths of Christ; giving ear to your vain Philosophicall Distinctions, and thereby ingendring strife, and puzzling both themselves and their hearers.

Sec. IIX Once more you quarrell with Sir Henry Vane, and cry out against him for holding an universall Liberty and Toleration in matters of Religion; and yet you do not take upon you to answer those Scriptures, arguments, and reasons of State, which are alledged for an universall Liberty. For my part, I am not fully acquainted with his judgment touching this point (which hath been so much controverted in our time) but if he be for such a Liberty, without exception or restraint, why should you quarrel with him (specially considering how the case stands with us in these Nations, both as to the Parliament, Army, Navy,

vy, Ministry and Churches) more then with *Luther, Austin*, and other Fathers! Admit their opinion (that are for an universall Liberty) be a mistake, yet it is far lesse dangerous then theirs, that would have few or none *tolerated*, but such as concurre with them in every thing ; as if they onely had *monopolized* to themselves a spirit of *infallibility*. The weapons of your warfare should be *spirituall* and heavenly, not carnall and *worldly*. Nor is the Gospel, in the power of it, planted or propagated by the *Civil* or *Martiall* Sword ; but by the Spirit of God, in preaching, prayer, Christian conference, and a holy conversation: This is the best way to convince opposers and gainsayers, instructing them in meeknesse and in a spirit of love : whereas, if you take violent courses, and fight against the errors of the times, with prisons, dungeons, fetters ; this will but make men the greater *hypocrites*, and seven times more the children of the *devil* then they were before ; nay, they will glory in their *suffrings*, and by this means their number will dayly increase in the Land ; as the *Quakers* have done of late years, for which we may thank such as you are, who by your passionate and violent *actings*, have made them the more confident of their dangerous and wicked opinions. Would to God, the Ministers of the Gospel would not onely preach well out of a pulpit ; but also expresse more self-deniall, wisdom, meeknesse, charity, and mortification in their actions, and live up to the rules of the Gospel ; and then I doubt not but the *Ministry* would be more *reverenced*, and Errors would vanish and disappear, as the clouds do at the bright shining of the *Sun*. Most men that now plead against *Toleration* of diversity of Religions (their own being most countenanced by the *Civil* power) would plead as much for a generall *Toleration*, if they were once under hatches, and their Religion discountenanced by the *Magistrate*. Herein commonly *Christians* are disposed and affected, according to the *practise* of that *Countrey* or *Kingdome* where they live : If a *Protestant*, yea a *Calvinist*, live in a *Popish* Countrey,

they, he will plead for *Toleration*; so will a Papist living in a *Protestant* Countrey, where diversity of Religions is not Tolerated. The *Ancient* Fathers that lived in times of persecution, the first three hundred years after Christ, pleaded against all kinde of violence for Religion; as appears by the sayings of *Lactantius*, *Tertullian* and others: But on the contrary, the latter Fathers (having the Emperours Christian, and on their side) pleaded against *Toleration*, and incited the Magistrate to violent courses, against such as were of a different perswasion,

Sec. IX.

I dare not positively affirm that the *Civil* Magistrate is not to intermeddle at all in Matters of Religion: for it is his duty to provide for, and encourage all the faithful *Preachers* and Professors of the Gospel, and to be a nursing Father to the Churches of Christ: but how far the *Magistrate* is to proceed in suppressing erroneous *Doctrines*, and where the bounds are to be set, beyond which he is not to go, I suppose a wiser man than Master *Baxter* cannot easily determine. *Keckerman* (a Learned Writer) saith, that *The bond between the Magistrate and his Subjects*, is essentially *Civil*. It seems he was not of your opinion, that *Magistracy* is from Christ as *Mediator*: for if this were true, then every *Magistrate* that doth not submit to the *Mediatory* Kingdome of Christ, is a meer *Usurper*; and may be lawfully deposed; and so whilst you seem to attribute much to the *Christian* Magistrate, you destroy Magistracy in most Nations and Countries in the World, where neither Magistrate nor people acknowledge the Lord Jesus.

Concerning this point of *Toleration*, let it be considered,

1. That Christ commands, that both the tares and the wheat should remain together in the world; and not be plucked up till the day of harvest, which is the end of the world, *Mat. 13. 30. 38.*

2. He reprov'd his Disciples, who would have had fire come down from heaven to destroy the *Samaritans* that would not entertain him, in these words; *You know not what*

what spirit you are of : for the Son of man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them, Luk. 9. 54, 55.

3. The Apostle Paul would not have the servant of God to strive, but to be gentle towards all men ; in meekness instructing those that are contrary minded , if peradventure God will give them repentance , to the acknowledging of the truth, 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25. and it is prophesied of Gospel times, Isa. 11. 9. that none shall hurt or destroy in the mountain of Gods holiness, i. e. in his Churches and the assemblies of the people.

4. The weapons wherewith the Ministers of the Gospel should fight, are not carnal, 2 Cor. 10. 4. And Christs Disciples should be so far from persecuting those that are not of their Religion ; that when they themselves are persecuted , they should pray : when they are cursed , they should bless, Mar. 5. 44. outward violence and rigor is so far from being the Character of the Christian Church, that it is the undoubted mark of the Antichristian Synagogue.

5. They who now are tares , may hereafter become wheat ; they that are now blinde, may hereafter see ; they that are now Blasphemers, may obtain mercie, as Paul did, 1 Tim. 1. 13. Some there are that come not in till the eleventh hour, Mat. 20. 6. if you destroy them that come not in till the last hour, because they come not at the first, then they are never like to come.

6. We know that God is not pleased with hypocritical unwilling worshippers, forced thereunto by outward violence ; nor are Christian Societies bettered, no, nor the persons themselves, by such outward force, but the plain contrary : God alone being Lord over the conscience ; for (as Solomon saith) There is no man that hath power over the Spirit, to retain the Spirit, Eccles. 8. 8.

7. 'Tis hard for the most judicious and learned men to give a right Judgment of many points now in Controversie ; and yet notwithstanding, many engaged persons are ready to force dissenters in such Controversies, by the coercive power of the Magistrate ; if the Magistrate were as forward to execute, as they are to propose.

8. Persecution for Religion hath caused, or at least occasioned most of the Wars, Devastations and Bloodshed in *Christendome*; whilst *Princes* would force their Subjects to be of their Religion, against the light of their own consciences: witness the VVars in *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, *France*, *Poland*, *England*, *Scotland*, &c. nor doth it agree well with a *Free-State* or *Common-wealth*, to exercise outward force, in matters of Religion, there being various apprehensions and diversity of opinions among all sorts and ranks of men: and perhaps if Mr. *Baxter* were called to consult about the weighty affairs of the *State*, as you may be in due time; for you pretend to some skill in the *Politicks*, (as appears by your most judicious censure on the *Commonwealth of Oceana*, and its *Author*, in your political Epistle to the Nobility and Gentry of *England*) you may after some grave debates, be more for Toleration then now you are. 'Tis far more easie for you to write *Syllogisms* in your study, surable to your own private and narrow apprehensions, then to keep three Nations in peace, and hinder godly men of different Judgements from supplanting one another by force and violence, and putting an opportunity into the hand of the common Enemy, to destroy them all.

9. Outward violence in the cause of Religion is condemned by divers ancient and modern VVriters of the best note. No man is forced by the Christians against his will (saith *Lactantius*) seeing he that wants faith and devotion, is unserviceable to God; and God not being contentious, would not be worshipped of the unwilling. *Tertullian* saith, (g) That it is of humane right and of natural liberty, that every man worship God uncompelled, and believe what he will: Nor doth it becom any Religion to compel another to be of their Religion, which willingly and freely should be embraced, and not by constraint; forasmuch as God requires a free-will offering. The Christian Church (saith *Hillary*) (h) doth not persecute, but is persecuted: 'Tis lamentable to see the great folly of these times, in that men think by humane ayde to help God, and by worldly pomp and power to defend the Christian Church

g Ad Scapulam.

h Hillary.
Contra Aux-
orem.

Church. And Hierom saith, (i) That heresie must be cut off by the sword of the spirit; and that we should strike all misled hereticks thorough with the sharp arrows of the Spirit, that is, with the Testimonies of the Scriptures: the slaughter of hereticks being by the word of God. Luther in his book of the civil Magistrate, saith, That the Laws of the civil Magistrate extend no farther then the body and goods, and that which is external: for over the conscience God alone ruleth; therefore whosoever undertakes to give Laws to the conscience; he usurpeth the Government that appertains onely to God. In the building of the Temple (saith he) there was no sound of Iron heard, to signifie that Christ will have in his Church a free and willing people, not compelled by humane Laws and Statutes. And upon Luk. 22. It is not the true Catholique Church which is defended by the secular arm, or humane power, but the false and fained Church. And again, upon Psal. 117. he saith, That the true Church of Christ knoweth not Brachium Seculare, which the Bishops now adaves chiefly use. And in his other books (k) he saith: Let no Christian be commanded, but exhorted; for he that willingly will not do that whereunto he is friendly exhorted, is no Christian; wherefore they that compel those that are not willing, shew thereby that they are not Christian preachers, but worldly bea-
Jerom. in
psalt. lib 4.
in Jerom.
Luth. po-
st. Dom. 1.
post. Epiph
Comment. in
1 Pet. 3.
 dles. If the Civil Magistrate shall command me thus and thus (saith he) I would answer him after this manner: Sir, look you to your worldly or civil government; your power extends not so far as to command any thing in Gods Kingdom; therefore herein I may not hear you: for if you cannot bear it, that any should usurp authority where you are to command, how should you think that God will suffer you to usurp that government that belongs to him? I might here mention the sayings of Bremius, and other forraign Writers upon this subject, and also divers of our English Martyrs; but their sayings are recorded by Mr. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments.

10. This practise of Persecution meerly for Religion, hath been likewise disavowed by some of the most learned and famous Princes of Christendom. King James

in his Speech in Parliament saith, *That it is a sure Rule in Divinity, That God never loves to plant his Church by violence and bloodshed: and in his Apology, pag. 4. and 60. I have good proof that I intended no persecution against the Papists for conscience sake; but onely desired to be secured for civil obedience; which for conscience sake they are bound to perform.* And speaking of the Arch-priest *Blackwel*, he saith, *It was never his intention to lay any thing to the Arch-priests charge (as he never did to any) for the cause of conscience. The saying of Stephen that wise King of Poland, is observable, That he was King of men, not of consciences; a Commander of Bodies, not of Souls: and that it is one of the three things which God hath kept in his own hands, to urge the conscience this or that way, and to cause a man to profess a Religion, by working it first in his heart.* And the King of *Bahemia* writeth thus: "That the success of latter Times
 " (wherein sundry opinions have been hatched about the
 " subject of Religion) may make one clearly discern with
 " his eye, and as it were touch with his finger, That ac-
 " cording to the verity of holy Scripture, and a Maxime
 " heretofore maintained by the ancient Doctors of the
 " Church, That mens Consciences ought in no sort to be
 " violated, urged, or constrained: And whensoever men
 " have attempted any thing by this violent course (whe-
 " ther openly or by secret means) the issue hath been
 " pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderful inno-
 " vation in the mightiest Kingdomes and Countries of
 " CHRISTENDOM. I might also recite the sayings of
 those potent and famous Princes, *CHARLS* the Fifth Em-
 perour of *Germany*, *Henry* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth,
 Kings of *France*, with other Christian Princes, who after
 many Trials, and much experience of men and times,
 grew weary of the practise of Persecution for the Cause
 of Religion, as having seen the sad and dreadful effects of
 it in *Christendom*. And if this practise should be again re-
 assumed in these poor distracted Nations, what can we ex-
 pect therefrom (as the condition of our affairs stands)
 but greater trouble, wars and bloodshed then yet we have
 seen?

Whereas

Whereas you, Mr. *Baxter*, and other Ministers (who I could wish were better employed) do endeavour by your Sermons and Writings, to bring an *odium* upon the present *Government* and Governours, as if they (who have such considerable Estates and Interest in the Land) had a designe to pull down the Ministry, level mens Estates and Propriety, and reduce all to an Anarchy and confusion; because forsooth they think it not meet to fulfil your *ambitious* lusts and desires. I would fain know of you, whether ever the Godly Ministry of this Nation had so much encouragement and maintenance allowed them by any Power or Authority, as they had and may have from the long *Parliament*? Ungrateful man! what would you have them do for you? will nothing content you, unless you may exercise a Lordly, and Tyrannical *Domination* over the Consciences of your Brethren, and bring the *civil* Magistrate under your Girdle, to be at your Beck, and Command, that you may dispose of Civil Affairs as you please in *ordine ad spiritualia*? Are there not many precious Godly Ministers now with the Lord (no whit inferior to you) that would have blessed God for, and rejoyced in that Liberty, Freedom, and Encouragement which you enjoy (or may enjoy, if you will carry yourselves as you ought to do) under this Government? They [good men] prized their condition, (though they had but forty or fifty pounds *per annum*;) But many of our Ministers are so peevish and unthankful, That they grow weary of, and mourn under their *mercies*, and inveigh most bitterly against the famous long *Parliament*; by whose means they have obtained greater encouragements and revenues, then ever was enjoyed by men of their parts and principles. Is this your kindness to your Benefactors? and do you thus require them for all their good offices? Surely it is high time for them to look about them, and to have a watchful eye over such men as you are: And when it shall please God, to bring these Nations to a better *consistency*, and to establish an equal and righteous Government, by just and good Laws, for the
benefit

benefit of the whole *Community*; If you or any other party shall go about (by promoting a faction) to disturb the peace and orders of the Commonwealth, by your words or actions, under what pretence soever; Truly Mr *Baxter*, in such a case you will have but little comfort if you be exposed to sufferings for your miscarriages: Let no man suffer (saith the Apostle) *as an evil doer, or as a busy body in other mens matters*; but he that suffereth, let him suffer *as a Christian*, 1 Pet. 4. 15, 16. Is it your desire that Church-Government should be established in this Land? why then, If it be such a Government as is *Jure Divino*, you may set it up by the spiritual Sword, though you have no assistance from the civil Magistrate. The *Kingdome* of Christ is not of this world; and we know that when the Churches of Christ had least countenance from *Earthly powers*, they were best governed, and had most beauty, unity, and order among themselves. You and we have the like liberty and opportunity, to improve our *spiritual* weapons and skill: But if one party will impose upon another, and go about to supplant those that conscientiously differ from them, doubtless the Lord (who loves and renders his people under many weaknesses and mistakes) will still witness against such an unchristian practise. That *Counsel* which is of God shall stand, but that which is not shall be brought to nothing.

To conclude, give me leave Sir to propound something to you by way of advise: Tis true, you have (to give you your due) a pregnant wit, and many commendable natural parts, and you are fluent in your words and writings; But I beseech you, be earnest with the Lord to give you true *humility* and self-denial, and that wisdom which is from above, and which is pure and peaceable, and easy to be intreated. Lean not too much to your own understanding and reasonings: Be not high in your own conceit: you know who saith, that *there is more hope of a fool, then of a man that is wise in his own conceit*, Prov. 26. 12. Hence it is, that you are so apt to sleight and undervalue others (as deserving as your self) which your
best

best friends have noted in you, and do much complain of. Consider and digest your thoughts well before you speak or write. Remember what a wise man saith, (*m*) *m* Prov. 15. 24. *That the heart of the Righteous studieth to answer: and the heart of the wise Teacheh his mouth, and addeth learning to his lips. A fool uttereth all his mind, but a wise man keepeth it in till afterwards.* Prov. 16. 23. Prov. 29. 11. Look up to God for spiritual strength, that you may be crucified to the same and praise of men; upon which Rock many have split themselves, who have had as excellent parts, and as much seeming piety as Mr. Baxter. He that *thinketh*, he *knoweth* any thing, let him know that he *knoweth nothing* as he ought to know. I write this in true love to you, and I wish you may accept it accordingly: For better are the wounds of a true friend, than the kisses of an Enemy.

F I N I S.